

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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AF-08 ARA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 OMB-01 EB-07 TRSE-00 INT-05

OES-06 /138 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5995

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, SN

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER LEE'S STATEMENT TO NAC SUMMIT CONFERENCE

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY PRIME MINISTER LEE KUAN YEW TO THE FIFTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE.

2. QUOTE. THE QUESTION I ASKED MYSELF, AS I READ THROUGH THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED TO THIS CONFERENCE WAS: WHO AM I UNITING WITH AND FOR WHAT OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES, AND AGAINST WHOM? THE INSPIRATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT GOES BACK TO 1955, THE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE IN BANDOENG. IT WAS THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ASIAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES SEEKING AN END TO COLONIALISM AND FOREIGN DOMINATION AND AGAINST THE COLONIAL POWERS-- THE EUROPEANS. IN 1961, WHEN THE NON-ALIGNED MET FOR THE FIRST TIME AT BELGRADE, THE HOST WAS EUROPEAN, BUT WITH IMPECCABLE CREDENTIALS AGAINST FOREIGN DOMINATION. THE MOVEMENT HAD BECOME MORE SOPHISTICATED.

3. IT HAD MOVED FROM BEING ANTI-EUROPEAN, TO BEING NEUTRALIST, OR NON-ALIGNED BETWEEN THE CONTENDING POWER BLOCS OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. IN COLOMBO, 1976, I HAVE NO DOUBTS AS TO THE CREDENTIALS OF MY HOSTS. THEY ARE ANTI-COLONIAL. SRI LANKA HAD

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ALSO FACED A "CHE GUEVARIST" REVOLT IN 1971, WHICH SHE SOON

RESOLVED. I SHARE THIS HALL WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE PHILIPPINES, PORTUGAL, AND RUMANIA, PRESENT AS GUESTS. SINGAPORE IS IN CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE PHILIPPINES IN ASEAN, AND I SUPPORT HER PRESENCE HERE AS A GUEST. I WELCOME THE IMPARTIALITY WITH WHICH WE HAVE A MEMBER FROM NATO AND A MEMBER FROM THE WARSAW PACT. I KNOW OF THE POSITION OF RUMANIA IN THE WARSAW PACT. I AM NOT SURE IF PORTUGAL HAS BEEN ACCORDED GUEST STATUS BECAUSE SHE WANTS A SIMILAR POSITION IN NATO. PERHAPS IT WAS THE COURAGEOUS, IF BELATED, ACT OF ABJURING HER COLONIAL PAST THAT DESERVES ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

4. FOR WHAT PURPOSES ARE WE UNITED? SOME ISSUES ARE SIMPLE AND CLEAR-CUT. WE ARE SOLIDLY AGAINST COLONIALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND REPRESSION. THERE ARE REMNANTS OF WHITE COLONIALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND REPRESSION IN ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA), NAMIBIA(SOUTH WEST AFRICA) AND THE APPALLING INHUMANITY OF APARTHEID IN AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA). WE ARE UNITED TO ENSURE THAT ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED BY THE ISRAELIS ARE RETURNED, FOR A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE U.S. RESOLUTIONS. IF WE ARE REALISTIC, WE MUST ALSO SEEK A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE HOME-LESS PALESTINIANS. IT WAS ONLY NATURAL THAT, WITH SO MANY COUNTRIES FREED FROM COLONIALISM, THE ISSUES WHICH NOW TROUBLE US, 85 MEMBER STATES, ARE THE ECONOMIC ONES. THE "NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER", A PHRASE FORGED OUT OF REPEATED FAILURES OF UNCTAD CONFERENCES, IS A REQUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL EQUITY AND JUSTICE BETWEEN RICH AND POOR NATIONS. AS THE DECLARATION OF THE 6TH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY LAST YEAR POINTED OUT, 70 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION HAS LESS THAN 30 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S INCOME. BUT IT IS NOT COMPLETELY TRUE TO SAY THAT WE ARE THE "POOR VERSUS THE RICH." RUMANIA IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE "POOR" GROUP. NOR INDEED ARE THOSE AMONGST US WHO ARE OIL PRODUCERS. BUT THEY ARE WITH US AGAINST THE "RICH" OF THE WESTERN WORLD. WHETHER IT IS AID, TRADE, COMMODITY STOCKPILE ARRANGEMENTS AND THE FINANCING THEREOF, TRANSFERS OF TECHNOLOGY AND MNC'S OR TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, WE ARE SEEKING NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST. THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF ALL COMMODITY PRODUCERS, OPEC, SUCCEEDED BECAUSE THEIR CUSTOMERS, THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, COULD NOT SURVIVE WITHOUT THEIR OIL. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT ONLY SELF-SUFFICIENT, INDEED

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SHE IS AN EXPORTER OF OIL AND NATURAL GAS, AND SUPPLIES THE NEEDS OF HER COMECON MEMBERS. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS ALSO AN OIL EXPORTER. IT IS ALSO THE WEST WHO ARE THE MAIN BUYERS OF THE COMMODITIES OF SO MANY OF US. AND, NATURALLY, IT IS THE WEST THAT IS IN CONTROL OF THE IMF, THE WORLD BANK, IDA, GATT AND A WHOLE HOST OF INTERNATIONAL REGULATORY AGENCIES, I AM SURE THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES FROM CUBA, THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA, THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,

LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA ARE SOLIDLY UNITED WITH US IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WEST FOR A MORE EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENT AND A JUST SHARING OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH. BUT I BELIEVE THEY ARE NOT DEPENDING ON THE IMF, OR THE WORLD BANK, OR IN COMMODITY STOCKPILE FINANCING, OR TRANSFERS OF TECHNOLOGY THROUGH MNC'S FOR THEIR SALVATION. I RESPECT THEIR CHOICE OF THE ROAD TO ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT. I HOPE THEY WILL RECIPROCATATE THE SENTIMENTS.

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HOWEVER, I WAS DISAPPOINTED TO READ THE DRAFT AMENDMENTS PUT IN BY THE LAOTIAN DELEGATION IN WHICH THEY REFERRED TO THE VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLES OF VIETNAM, LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND STRUGGLES AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, I.E., FOR THESE COUNTRIES TO ACHIEVE GENUINE INDEPENDENCE. IT MADE ME WONDER WHICH COUNTRIES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, ARE NOT "GENUINE" IN THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SHOULD BE HELPED TO BECOME "GENUINE".

5. IT IS A PRECURSOR OF THE KIND OF DOUBLE DEFINITION OF INDEPENDENCE WHICH WILL CLASSIFY A MARXIST STATE AS GENUINELY INDEPENDENT AND THE OTHERS AS BEING NOT GENUINE AND SO THEIR PEOPLES ARE TO BE SUPPORTED TO OVERTHROW BY VIOLENCE ESTABLISHED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS? I HAD ALWAYS BELIEVED LAOS TO BE AGENUINELY INDEPENDENT COUNTRY, AT

LEAST SINCE 1962 WHEN AT GENEVA ITS NEUTRALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY WERE GURANTEED IN AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT SIGNED AMONGST OTHERS BY THE SOVIET UNION, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE USA. BUT TIMES HAVE CHANGED. SOME COMMUNIST COUNTRIES LIKE YUGOSLAVIA HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT SINCERE INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT BY LIVING IN PEACE WITH THE VERY DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS OF ITS NEIGHBORS, ALBANIA, AUSTRIA, ITALY AND BULGARIA. I HOPE COUNTRIES LIKE LAOS WILL GET OVER UNCLASSIFIED

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THEIR URGE TO PROSELYTIZE AND NOT HELP IN THE FORCED CONVERSION OF THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

6. IF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IS TO STAY UNITED, THEN WE MUST BE PREPARED TO LIVE WITH THE DIFFERENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF OUR MANY MEMBERS. WE CANNOT TOLERATE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY MEMBER, ESPECIALLY IF HELP TO "REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES" MEANS ACTIVE ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENT GROUPS TO OVERTHROW ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS IN ORDER TO IMPOSE A MARXIST SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE ARE ALL AGAINST ECONOMIC DOMINATION BY THE WEST. WE SEEK A BETTER ECONOMIC FUTURE IN MORE EQUITABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. ACCORDING TO 1974 WORLD BANK FIGURES, THE DEVELOPED NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HAVE A GNP OF \$2,500 BILLION, THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES A GNP OF \$686 BILLION, AND THE NON-OIL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES A GNP OF \$536 BILLION. REPORT OF UNCTAD SECRETARIAT, SEPTEMBER 19, 1975, SHOWS THAT IN 1974, OF THE \$37.5 BILLION IN DISBURSEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COOPERATION, \$31.4 BILLION CAME FROM THE DAC (DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE) COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, COMPARED TO \$0.55 BILLION FROM THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. IN EFFECT, IT IS TO THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST THAT WE HAVE TO ADDRESS OURSELVES FOR A BETTER DEAL. THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY HAD ESTIMATED THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES REQUIRE A TRANSFER OF ONE PERCENT OF THE GNP OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO PRODUCE A SIX PERCENT GROWTH EACH YEAR. UNFORTUNATELY, UNCTAD SECRETARIAT REPORT, APRIL 15, 1976, STATES THAT IN 1975, THE AMOUNT TRANSFERRED BY WAY OF OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE WAS ONLY 0.36 PERCENT AS AGAINST 0.7 PERCENT PROPOSED BY THE DAC OF 17 DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. SO WHEN I ASK MYSELF THE QUESTION: WHO AM I UNITED WITH, FOR WHAT OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES, AND AGAINST WHOM, I AM UNABLE TO GIVE AS CLEAR-CUT AN ANSWER WHEN IT CONCERNS ECONOMIC ISSUES OF A MORE EQUITABLE WORLD SYSTEM.

7. COOPERATION AMONGST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALONE CANNOT PROVIDE THE INPUTS OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL KNOW-HOW NOR PROVIDE THE MARKETS FOR THE COMMODITIES WE PRODUCE OR FOR SIMPLE MANUFACTURE WE HOPE TO MAKE. OUR

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS ARE BETTER IN COOPERATION WITH THE  
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DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST. OUR OBJECTIVE IS, THEREFORE, TO EXERCISE MORAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE (WITH THE HELP OF THE OIL PRODUCERS) AGAINST THE WEST, SO THAT THEY WILL COOPERATE WITH US ON MORE EQUITABLE TERMS. IN MEETINGS SUCH AS THIS IN COLOMBO WHICH PRECEDE A UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WE CAN MOBILIZE THE OPINIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. OF COURSE, WE HAVE TO CONTENT WITH A LARGELY UNSYMPATHETIC AND CYNICAL WESTERN MASS MEDIA. WHILST WE MAY BE ABLE TO BYPASS THEM IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THROUGH PROPOSALS SUCH AS THOSE RECENTLY MADE IN DELHI FOR COOPERATION IN EXCHANGING INFORMATION BETWEEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE MAY NOT GET OUR MESSAGE THROUGH TO THE PEOPLES OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST.

8. SOMEHOW, WE MUST GET THROUGH TO THEM, LIKE THE VIETNAMESE GOT THROUGH TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND TURNED MANY AMERICANS AGAINST THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN VIETNAM. IF WE FAIL TO GET COOPERATION, THERE ARE ALWAYS AUSTERE AND FORMIDABLE EXAMPLES OF SELF-DISCIPLINE AND SELF-HELP OF THE DEVELOPING MARXIST-LENINIST COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, I PRESUME MOST OF US DO NOT SEEK SUCH A RIGOROUS SOLUTION TO OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. HENCE, THIS GATHERING IN COLOMBO SEEKS A RATIONAL SET OF PROPOSALS ON WHICH THE WEST CAN ENGAGE US IN A MORE EQUITABLE SYSTEM OF TRADE, COMMODITY STOCKPILE AGREEMENTS AND THEIR FINANCING, AND THE GOOD BEHAVIOR OF THEIR MNC'S FOR RAPID TRANSFERS OF TECHNOLOGY ON FAVORABLE TERMS.

9. IM IT CAN BE A LONG AND ARDUOUS STRUGGLE FOR THOSE OF US WITHOUT ABUNDANT OIL RESERVES. END QUOTE.  
HOLDRIDGE

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